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REVOLUTIONARY MEMORIAL SERVICE For GEORGE JACKSON,

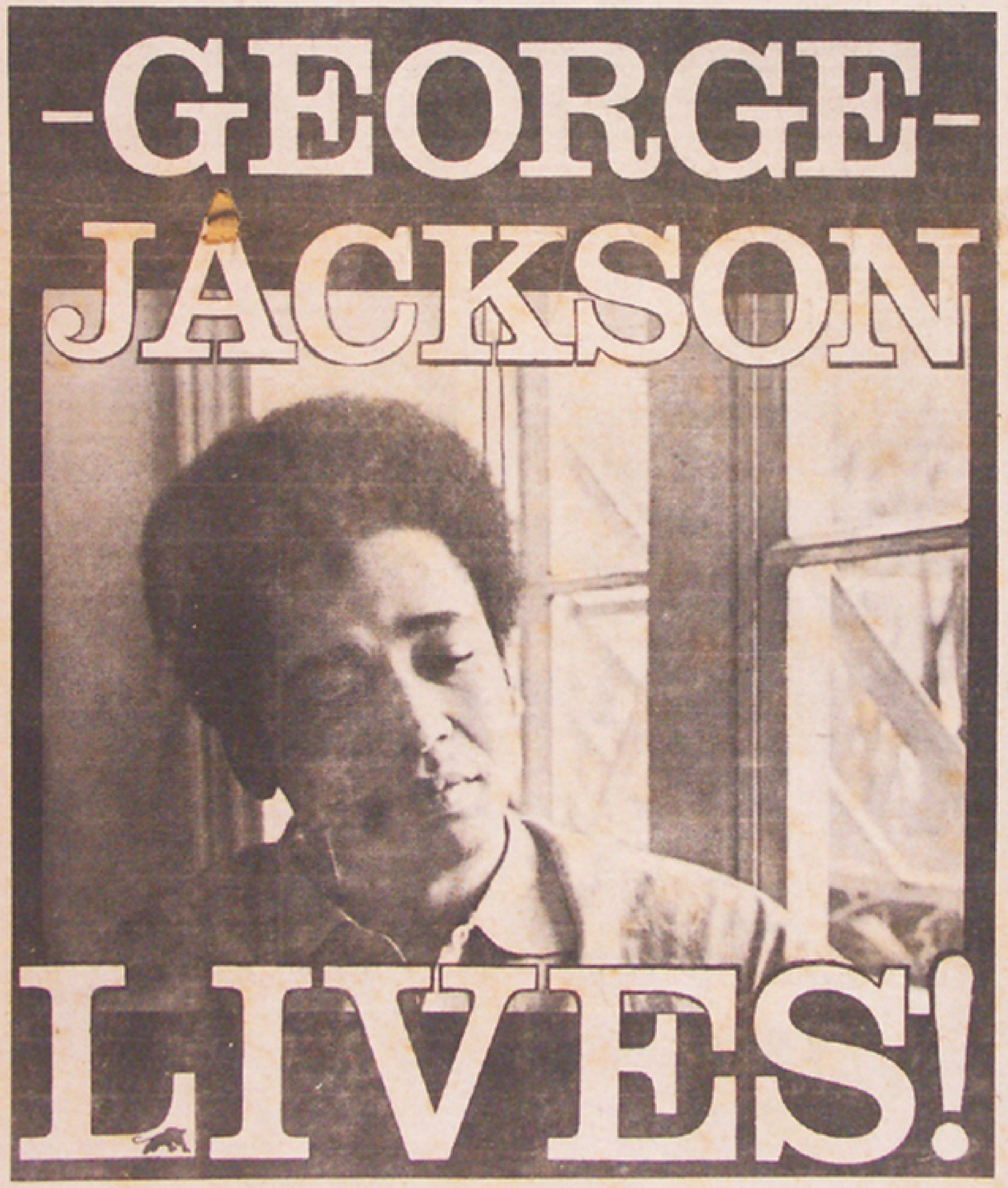
Field Marshal, Black Panther Party



SEE SUPPLEMENT INSIDE

FIELD MARSHAL GEORGE JACKSON ANALYZES THE CORRECT METHOD IN COMBATING AMERICAN FASCISM

A tape recording of the following statement, made by our fallen comrade, George Jackson, was played to the thousands who attended the revolutionary memorial services for our Field Marshal. We print it here for your close study.



The co-optation thing is a mechanism of the American brand of fascism. We have to understand that first. In essence, how it works is that each group, each social unit, larger than two, the powers-that-be will approach the element that's guiding that social unit, and attempt in some way - and we'll get possibilities, there are a thousand ways of approaching: playing on loyalties; or, let's say, the money thing, the money syndrome, we've had that trained into us from infancy; or they'll attempt to show us the futility of our actions; and then perhaps, if that doesn't work, they'll explain to us how actually our goals are the same as theirs and that they're not such bad guys after all. But it's worked. It's worked in the past. You've heard the stories, the tales about white America and the establishment not being able to deal with Black nationalism. Well they have been. They've built foundations, you know, the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, and so forth. They bought them off. How do we stop those things from happening. As far as I'm concerned our dialectic, our intentions, our goals are so mutually exclusive to those of our opposition, that I can't see anywhere we can find anything to agree on. And, we have to stop it right from the beginning. In other words, no acceptance of tokens, none whatsoever, in the building of the People's world. We do it on our own. We do it with our own facilities. And to say that we can't do it, to say that we don't have the personnel, that we don't have the financial means is just like saying that producers can't produce, that breadmakers can't make bread. We don't need them. That's the whole point. So we stop them by barring them completely from our program.

We can't limit ourselves to any one particular form of struggle; but I'm saying that the people who are given the responsibility of deciding which facilities that we'll take and use for our own, for the building of the infrastructure, for our own, I think that these people should use extreme caution and always bear in mind that the underlying motive is tokenism, and at all times be - cynical. Take, yes; but, take it in the spirit of reparations, and reparations only.

We have a very, very, very touchy, fundamental problem; and, I think it begins with the ideal - I don't think we fully understand the period or stage that we're in right now, the stage of the struggle that we're in right now. The ideal situation, where each man can be a man, can be an individual - and I don't mean in the existentialist sense - where each man can be truly free, to make decisions on his own. Make decisions on his own, and from his own mind. We haven't reached that

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point yet; and it might be 2,000 years before we reach that point. Right now, at the present, to think that that thing is possible is verging on anarchy. And I seriously feel that the problem lies in the fact that we don't understand what Democratic Centralism means, and its function and its power, and its power to all of our movement. I really, seriously don't believe that anything can be accomplished without Democratic Centralism at this stage, because we've inherited things from thousands and thousands of years ago into our character, into our beings. In particular, we've inherited things over the last 300 years of capitalism and over the last few decades of fascism, corporativism. We've inherited things that disallow us from, let's say, egalitarian conduct. I think we have to recognize that, and understand that our movement has to be carried by, guided by disciplined and sincere, but organized, Democratic Centralism.

Power, in its essence, has a growth process, just like everything else. If we snatch that thing up out of its process and look at it as it WAS, we're looking at a thing that's dead. It's a thing in process, just like everything else. It goes through a state of infancy, maturity and then, of course, decline. The prestige of power at its maturity is a thing that will prevent people from acting against that power. This pig is a psychological thing, a state of being wherein the bourgeoisie reign of terror need not rely on violence to sustain itself. It's relying on something that happened in the past, or some accomplishment, or some, let's say, coup, that went down in the past, where it secured itself. And it's drifting at this point, the prestige of power means that it's drifting at this point and living off its laurels. At this stage, people just are not inclined to attack that power. So, consequently, our first attack is on the prestige of power. That was Jonathan's job, to destroy the prestige of power, the iconoclastic act of crushing symbols. Once these symbols are crushed, and people see that they are vulnerable, then we can move on to the actual destruction of the bases of power. Because power, after, after the destruction of the prestige of power, power will be forced to revert back to its original force, raw brute force - violence.

First of all, I'd like to clear up a couple of points in that area that have come up, criticisms of my particular analysis of fascism. First, I would like to state unequivocally that complete totalitarianism, the perfect totalitarian state is impossible. We've had 6,000 years of hierarchy; we've had 6,000 years of attempts, of men making attempts to place themselves above society. It's never worked; it's never worked. So, in essence, pure fascism, pure totalitarianism is impossible, first of all. Then I'd like to emphasize that fascism right from the beginning - and when I say beginning, I'm going all the way back to the point where monopoly capital first started its formation - the culmination of monopoly capital was the fascist corporative. And it took different forms in different countries; and those different forms were principally accountable to the differing national situations, the differing crises that the particular nations were facing; and, of course, the difference in time and place in history. And they each took a different form. In Spain, Francoism and the Spanish new state, that was one form; Italian fascism, that was one form; the Rumanian armed guard, that was one form; then, of course, the national socialism of Germany, that was another form altogether; Peronism, that was another form - that has to be examined very carefully, because there were several asides that altered it from the other forms that swept Europe. The principal difference between Peronism and the thing that Vargas pulled off in Brazil is that though both those countries were under the influence, the sphere of influence of the United States, and, in effect, they were really neo-colonies and had been ever since the Monroe Doctrine - actually their (Argentina's Peronism) particular brand of fascism was in a way (this is a very abstract and complicated question) - this particular form tended to mirror the same thing that went down here in this country. Peron disguised his particular fascism almost as a benefit to the workers. I mean and disguised it more so than the thing in Germany. The thing in Germany was outright slavery. It was like, as far as I'm concerned, my reading of history, it looked like almost a reversion to the slave state. Whereas Peron was shrewd enough to try to keep a balance - a real balance, not real, but, let's say, a superficial balance - between the working class and the ruling class - which is just about what happened here in this country - and paralleled a brand, the particular brand of corporative fascism here in this country.

Important in the understanding of fascism, I believe, is not to confuse the different dimensions of the movement. And, we firstly concede that it is a movement, a thing, like I said, at the opening of monopoly capital. First it's obvious that once monopoly capital started forming, old bourgeoisie democracy began to die, in process. As monopoly capital took over political rule, the political rule of, let's term it, bourgeoisie democracy started diminishing. And at the end of that process, like I said, the culmination of that process, was almost total centralization. So it's not a question of coup, it's not a question of a certain uprising of a small politi-

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cal economic ascendancy destroying the old bourgeoisie, democratic rule - that rule was being destroyed in process right from the inception of monopoly capital. From there I think it's important to understand that the men who assimilated themselves are fascists, the fascist man, who assimilated himself upon the society, the character who pictured himself or projected himself as being eventually that cat mechanating at the center and above society, he knew all along what he was doing. In the first stage, the first dimension, he emphasized the decadence of laissez-faire capitalism; he emphasized the decadence, I suppose, the death of bourgeoisie democracy. He emphasized that. And some of those statements that were made prior to fascist takeover, prior to the fascist sweep in Europe, some of those statements can almost be considered anti-capitalist statements.

Now, that's the first face, the first dimension right there. The second dimension would come after they've seized power, but were yet insecure. That's the spectacular stage that we see on T.V., that we see in the movies, where doors are kicked down and people are being machine-gunned, herded off to camps - like here in this country, put in jails - the Communist Party banned, and forced to write into their constitution a statement that went like this, "Anyone who advocates the violent overthrow of the United States is subject to expulsion from the Party." That's the second, spectacular stage. But the third stage is the stage wherein fascism is a secured thing, corporativism. Can anyone look around the United States and say that this is not a corporative state? With the old guard, the point they attempt to use to persuade us that fascism is not a mature fascism in this country yet is a very simplistic idea, that FDR (Franklin D. Roosevelt) and the New Deal and the thing during the war were actually an attempt to create a welfare state. Nothing could be more ridiculous. Can you believe the United States would today encompass a welfare state. Nothing could be more ridiculous. FDR was a fascist. Roosevelt was a fascist. And the thing that went down during the '30's and '40's was not just similar, but it was exactly the same thing with national differences, national differences, it was the same thing that went down in Italy, Rumania, Spain, Germany, or Argentina, Brazil. It's the same thing. They first attempted to close the economy and use the surplus capital of accumulation to work out problems that should have been worked out long ago right here in the United States. And that's the essence of the whole closed economy idea. Expansion, at that point, wasn't working any more; it wasn't possible because the various Western nations, or advanced industrial states, had expanded to the point where expansion was no longer possible. So they closed their economy and started such projects as the electrification of a railroad in Italy, remember; and the draining of marshes, remember. And then (of course, you don't remember, but you've read about it), in Germany, rearmament was the thing. In the United States, we had T.V.A. (Tennessee Valley Authority), remember - you know, they built the big dam over the Tennessee River and put people to work, make-work. They were re-allocating investments, turning them inward, the closed economy idea. And then, the CCC camps, so forth like that, the same type of projects, the same type of economics, stiff regulations on the import-export thing. To be certain that the balance that existed in a particular nation's favor, the politics and the economics were the same, the exact same, with just slight variations, according to the particular national state of capitalist dilapidation.

Once secure and in power - in the United States that point was reached during the McCarthy era - once secure and in power, it was possible for them then to allow some dissent. It was possible then for them to have a C.P. (Communist Party), just so long as that C.P. didn't have any teeth; it was possible, then, for them to allow us to form what appeared to be an opposition party. But, now, to make my point very clear, a real opposition party did come into existence. The BPP, Black Panther Party. What happened. What happened - they reverted back to the second stage, back to the second dimension. They were kicking doors in and killing people. It's pretty obvious, it's pretty obvious that a mature fascism exists in this country, and it exists in disguise, and the disguise takes the form of all those idiotic, ridiculous statements about a welfare state. If anybody with any intelligence at all can look at the United States and come up with a conclusion that this is a welfare state or any semblance of a welfare state, it's pure chicanery, an evasion of fact, dereliction of duty, and in most cases what they're doing is really cleaning up the fact that they

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THE FOLLOWING MESSAGES WERE READ BY BOBBY SEALE, CHAIRMAN, BLACK PANTHER PARTY AT THE REVOLUTIONARY MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR FIELD MARSHAL GEORGE JACKSON

Aug. 25, 1971

Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Georgia Jackson,

George Jackson was shot down in the San Quentin Prison Saturday night. There has been an appalling lack of explanation of why and how this shooting took place. We demand an immediate and impartial investigation of this act.

Southern Legal Action Movement
Atlanta, Georgia

Aug. 26, 1971

Oakland, Calif.

Mrs. Georgia Jackson,

Let George's fiery writings and iron deeds serve a path to lead all of our imprisoned cadres to final victory. Let us mourn him. Let us love him. Let us miss him. Let us do as he did in the name of freedom. In our last hours, let us die as men and not as slaves. Long Live George Jackson.

Love
Dr. Bert Small

Aug. 25, 1971
Madison, Wis.
Care of Brother Huey Newton

George Jackson Family,

George Jackson's death is merely physical.
His spirit will crush prison makers and prison keepers alike. Be proud that two beautiful Jackson Brothers boldly attempted to deliver others from gross injustice.

Lloyd A. Barbee
State Representative
Wisconsin Legislature
and Daphne E. Barbee



THE FOLLOWING MESSAGES WERE READ BY BOBBY SEALE, CHAIRMAN, BLACK PANTHER PARTY AT THE REVOLUTIONARY MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR FIELD MARSHAL GEORGE JACKSON

August 25, 1971

To the family of Comrade Field Marshal, George Jackson -

It is with much sorrow, yet defiant resolve, that we, the Black convicts of the Illinois State Penitentiary, do observe the brutal slaying of our Comrade, your son, Field Marshal George Jackson, Black Panther Party. His determined, implacable quest for dignity and freedom of Black People illuminates the path that we, who are in the deepest of the dark bowels of American fascism, must travel. Let us move on to the next order of business.

War to the Knife
Black Convicts
Illinois State Penitentiary

August 24, 1971
Dear Mrs. Jackson:

I was personally revolted by news of the death of your son.

I am angried and saddened by this one further indication of the horror and brutality of the prison system- a system which now has denied us the wisdom and leadership of George Jackson. I know what my responsibility is in this, and I will move to fulfill it.

If I can be of assistance to you in any way, please call; area code 202 225-2661.

Yours in love and sorrow,
Ronald V. Dellums
Member of Congress
7th California Congressional District

To: The Jackson Family

Words could never express the pain and heartbreak that is felt by the three of us over the slaying of THE DRAGON . . . Our heart goes out to your family, although Comrade Brother George is no longer physically with us, his flames shall engulf the world forever. He shall live in the hearts and minds of many people for as long as this world exists.

An empty bed,
Tears are shed.
No more sun,
After I'm gone.
My family cries,
Their love has died.
My friends are there,
Death's in the air.
My chains unbound,
I'm put in the ground.
Everyone's sad,
But I am glad.
It's lucky for me,
Because now I'm free .....

Long live the spirit of George Jackson

John Clutchette
Fleeta Drumgo
Derrick Maxwell

George Lester Jackson, whose life as a revolutionary was exemplary, is a giant in every way. For eleven years he was compelled by the nature of his surroundings to fight a constant battle. Battle was his life. Unafraid, he fell in a fighting stance. Though he fell, those charged with the task of destroying him could not and cannot destroy his essence. They could not and cannot annihilate the principles he stood for and defended to the death.

George still lives, as does his Brother, Jonathan - and millions of people, the downtrodden and the oppressed, will love them, breathe in their spirits and continue, with their inspiration, to fight for the victory towards whose attainment they had to make the supreme sacrifice.

Let us not weep. George did not want tears. So he had said: "We gather up our dead, clean them, kiss them and smile; the tears we save for the victory. If we see the spring after this protracted war, then we can cry for Jonathan and all the rest. We'll know what they missed."

We must fight for that Victory and usher in the spring, for only then will we have earned the right to shed our tears for George, Jonathan and all our fallen soldiers.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Angela Davis

THE FOLLOWING MESSAGES WERE READ BY BOBBY SEALE, CHAIRMAN, BLACK PANTHER PARTY AT THE REVOLUTIONARY MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR FIELD MARSHAL GEORGE JACKSON

Love . . . for the principles of Black Manhood and Liberation . . . Love for the revolutionary necessity to tear freedom from the locked jaws of the diabolical beast of oppression and injustice . . . Love . . . for the People . . . is the Love that is often paid for with Life itself. Every Soldier for the People knows this is what Revolution is all about.

George Jackson, Revolutionary Supreme, Field Marshal for the Black Panther Party, and Commander-in-Chief of the Black Militant Front, spent all of his adult life expressing this Love and gave his life, Saturday - August 21, 1971, protecting this Love.



Speaking out in the name of this Love to his Brothers in concentrated bondage made his assassination desirable to his enemies . . . Manifesting the strength of this Love in his Black Manhood made his assassination be demanded by his enemies . . . Giving birth to an unyielding Revolutionary Spirit from the womb of this Love made his assassination be ordered by his enemies . . . Not having the protection of this Love in all of the People he loved made his assassination by his enemies possible.

To mourn the tragic death of this Revolutionary Soldier in any way other than combat is absolute disrespect ... To disregard the pattern of assassination today, genocide tomorrow, in the history of his and our enemies is unforgivable hypocrisy . . . To leave the forces intact that commit these abominable atrocities against the People is inevitable suicide.

They have killed the body of a Revolutionary Leader but his Revolutionary Spirit lives and grows in the Army that he has left as a legacy of his Love to the People.

We can no longer be stopped by the enemies' tactic of "cut off the head and the body will die", for in a Revolutionary Army the head is all of the People who actively seek to gain liberation.

Our battle must continue to be fought under the banner of Love for the principles of Liberation and the People . . .We must fight with unrelenting determination to pay tribute to George and Jonathan Jackson (ana all of the Soldiers that have died in revolt) . . . And we must show our respect for their life-blood by making certain that it was well spent and not unnecessarily wasted. . .and in the words of our Commander-in-Chief "WE WILL WIN!"

Clifford (Death Row) Jefferson
Deputy Commander-in-Chief
Black Militant Front

Stan Bryant
Chief of Staff
Black Militant Front

David Hilliard
Chief of Staff
Black Panther Party

Louis Randy Williams
Black Panther Party

Charles Bursey
Black Panther Party

Melvin Holloway
Black Panther Party

Jimmy Lacy
Chairman
Black Militant Front

Jake Lewis
General
Black Militant Front

John Preston
Minister Finance
Black Militant Front

James Johnson
General
Black Militant Front

Baker Gamble, Colonel Black Militant Front and other members of the Black Militant Front:

Steve Browning	*Steve Simmons*
Ray Hamilton	*Hugo (Yogi) Pinnell*
Burford Bird	*Li'l John Gordon*
James Cross	*Ulysses McDaniels*
Harold Madlock	*J.P. Trotter*
Ray Sparks	*Howard Loald*
Charles Hardley	*Otis Standfort*
Harold Landry	*John Green*
Zamb Whiteside	*Gary Scott*

and Soldiers of the People's Liberation Army:

Maurice Nichols
Herman Brown
Li'l John Willis
Homer Griffen
Larry Williams Jr.
Booker T. Moore
Charles E. Hamilton
Comrade Osagyefo
Paul Johnson Jr.
L. Yuseff Scranton
Mwanza, R.N.A.
Johnnie (loco) Thymiakos
Melvin Malcolm
P. Anderson
James Penland
Mickey Young
Carl Hogan
Billy Rogers
and many, many others.



MESSAGES FOR GEORGE FROM THE PEOPLE

Aug. 23 71
London

Jackson Family

We pay our deepest respects to a life that was totally dedicated to the liberation of our people; to a brother we have loved, Brother George.
Power To The People.
Black Liberation Front

To the Jackson Family,

I hope you stay in high spirits and be strong. Don't leave the struggle, because we have to keep on struggling until we get our freedom. The brother was very strong. So was Jonathan. I'm crying inside, I hurt very badly because he was a right-on brother. His death makes me want to work harder. Because he was a very hard worker. All Power to the People. Be strong.
Love George
Love me, Mrs. Jackson

Patrice
Samuel Napier Intercommunal Youth Institute

To the Jackson Family, All Power to the People

I wish to say that I am very sad over the death of George. And would like to say that we should not cry for the dead, we should cry for the living because we are the ones suffering. Mrs. Jackson, I know that you have not recovered from the death of Jonathan and now I know you will be very sad and will not recover over the death of both your sons too easy.
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Revolutionary Love.
Long Live the Revolutionary Spirits of Comrades George and Jonathan Jackson!
Rochella
Samuel Napier Intercommunal Youth Institute

To the Jackson Family

I am writing to all of you to tell you that I heard about George. At first when they told me I didn't think it was true. When I asked one more time, they told me he had died, and I asked why did they kill him. And one of my comrades told me that the pigs said he was trying to get away. But we know this is not true and we know that the pigs are lying. They just wanted to kill comrade George Jackson. Jonathan and George will not be forgotten, because we love them. I am very sad that now George and Jonathan have been killed by the pigs. And here is where I am going to end my letter, by saying, Long Live the Spirit of George Jackson.
All Power to the People

Your Comrade-in-arms
Teddy
Samuel Napier Intercommunal Youth Institute

August 24, 1971

All Power to the People to the Jackson Family

Comrades, I know that you are sad about Brother George Jackson. He was a revolutionary brother. He was a servant of the people. He was a right on comrade brother. I know you are missing George and Jonathan and I am

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STATEMENT BY HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, AT THE REVOLUTIONARY MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR GEORGE JACKSON

Power to the People. Power to our fallen comrade, Brother George Jackson, member of the Black Panther Party. First I would like to explain, because many people are wondering, what is the connection between Brother George Jackson and the Black Panther Party.

When I went to prison in 1967, I met George. Not physically, I met him through his ideas, his thoughts and words that I would get from him. He was at Soledad Prison at the time; I was at California Penal Colony. George was a legendary figure all through the prison system, where he spent most of his life. You know a legendary figure is known to most people through the idea, or through the concept, or essentially through the spirit. So I met George through the spirit. Shortly after I met George, I got word through the prison grapevine that he wanted to join the Black Panther Party; in fact he did join the Black Panther Party and he received the rank, at his request, of a member of the People's Revolutionary Army, and he was given the rank of General and Field Marshal. He was in charge of the prison recruiting, and also he would go on with his life as a revolutionary example, which was the most important thing that one can ever do, because that cannot be killed.

I say that the legendary figure is also a hero. George Jackson was my hero. He set a standard for prisoners, political prisoners, for people. He showed the love, the strength, the re-



STATEMENT BY HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, AT THE REVOLUTIONARY MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR GEORGE JACKSON



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volutionary fervor that's characteristic of any soldier for the people. So we know that spiritual things can only manifest themselves in some physical act, through a physical mechanism. I saw prisoners, who knew about this legendary figure, act in such a way, putting his ideas to life; so therefore the spirit became a life. And I would like to say today George's body has fallen, but his spirit goes on, because his ideas live. And we will see that these ideas stay alive, because they'll be manifested in our bodies and in these young Panthers' bodies, who are our children. So it's a true saying that there will be revolution from one generation to the next.

What kind of standard did George Jackson set. First, that he was a strong man, he was determined, full of love, strength, dedication to the people's cause, without fear. He lived the life that we must praise. It was a life, no matter how he was oppressed, no matter how wrongly he was done, he still kept the love for the people. And this is why he felt no pain in giving up his life for the people's cause.

The state itself sets the stage for the kind of contradiction or violence that occurs in the world, that occurs in the prisons. The ruling circle of the United States has terrorized the world. The state has the audacity to say they have the right to kill. They say they have a death penalty and it's legal. But I say by the laws of nature that no death penalty can be legal - it's only cold-blooded murder. It gives spur to all sorts of violence, because every man has a contract with himself, that he must keep himself alive at all costs. So the state with legality could only, at best, hold one, confine one for a later period of negotiation about the wrong. And even if the state does wrong sometimes, maybe it could make itself legal by saying that we will go along with these wrong acts against us as long as we can negotiate them some

other time. But of course with the death penalty, of course with the kind of violence that we see in our community where the police are also the executioners, we don't have this chance of negotiation. They have the audacity to say that people should deliver a life to them without a struggle; but none of us can accept that. George Jackson had every right, every right to do everything possible to preserve his life and the life of his comrades, the life of the People.

George Jackson, even after his death, is a legendary figure and a hero. He must be - to the oppressor. This is true, I know it's true, because of the words of the oppressor. To cover their murder they say that George Jackson killed five people, five oppressors, (and) wounded three in the run of 30 seconds. You know, sometimes I like they will grow up trying to live by the standard that George Jackson set. George Jackson, even after his death, you see, is going on living in a very real way; because, after all, the greatest thing that we have is the idea and our spirit, because it can be passed on. Not in the superstitious sense, but in the sense that when we say something or we live a certain way, then when this can be passed on to another person, then life goes on. And that person somehow lives, because the standard that he set and the standard that he lived by will go on living. So the body becomes of very little importance, the body of one individual. But the body of all of us, who cannot be eliminated (they cannot kill all of us as they killed George Jackson). By this, by this George left a legacy and he will go on, he will go on into immortality, because we believe that the people will win, we know the people will win, and we down, to our very knees, he might crush us to the ground, but it's physically impossible for him to go on. At some point his legs will get tired, and when his legs get tired, then George Jackson, the people will tear his knee caps off.

But first the state sets such violence, you see. And some people say that we can't get rid of this kind of physical conflict with more of it. Well I would take issue with it (if we use that example of the oppressor stomping George Jackson down to his knees). He can't go on. And with the violence then, we act, when we return it, in our defense, by tearing his legs off. Of course he won't have a leg; but the violence will stop, because we don't care to take it on. It's true that the violence that he committed against us, by beating us down, we'll be hurt by it; but his leg will also be hurt, or his



to look over the fact that it's physically impossible. But after all George Jackson is my hero. And I would like to think that it was possible; I would like to be very happy that George Jackson had the strength; he must have had to be a superman. (Of course, my hero would have to be a superman.) And we will raise our children to be like George Jackson, to live like George Jackson and to fight for freedom as George Jackson fought for freedom.

We say that even after death, George Jackson still is alive, because his ideas, his spirit will be manifested in the physical. Again, we see our young Panthers here, who are growing up, and will advance wave upon wave.

Even with George's last statement - his last statement to me - at San Quentin that day, that terrible day, he left a standard for political prisoners; he left a standard for the prisoner society of racist, reactionary America; surely he left a standard for the liberation armies of the world. He showed us how to act. He made a statement that the unjust will be criticized by the weapon. And this will certainly be true, because the people will take care of that. George also said one time that the oppressor is very strong and he might beat him down, he might beat us missing leg - the stub will ache him very much. So it is bad for us and it is bad for him also. But we're determined not to let him wipe the people out. We know that he cannot wipe the people out, because we will fight on. We will tear his legs off, we'll tear his head off and we'll take the example from George Jackson. In the name of love and in the name of freedom, with love as our guide, we'll slit every throat that threatens the people and our children. We'll do it in the name of peace, if this is what we have to do; because as soon as it's

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STATEMENT BY HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, AT THE REVOLUTIONARY MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR GEORGE JACKSON

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over, then we can have the kind of world where violence will no longer exist.

So we will be very practical, we won't make statements and believe the things or try to believe the things the prison officials said to make them true, such as the 30 seconds and five people being eliminated - who were definitely oppressors - we will go on and live very realistically. In spite of the kind of hero George was to me. I know we don't come by, through that overnight. There's much pain and much suffering necessary in order for us to develop. So even in our suffering, even in our suffering I see a strength growing. I see the example that he set will not be let down. We know that all of us will die someday. But we know that death has two kinds of characters, the reactionary kind and the revolutionary kind. One death is significant and the other is not. George certainly died in a significant way, and his death will be very heavy; while the ones that fell, the ones that fell that day in San Quentin, their deaths will be lighter than a feather because it's insignificant; and even those who support them now will not support them in the future, because we're determined to change their minds. We'll change their minds or else in the people's name we'll have to wipe them out thoroughly, wholly, absolutely and completely.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

MESSAGES FOR GEORGE FROM THE PEOPLE

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too and all the other comrades are too. He died in a revolutionary way and not a reactionary way, which was right on.

Ralph
Samuel Napier Intercommunal Youth Institute

August 24, 1971

Dear Jackson Family,

How are you doing. I hope you are in high spirits. How is Penny. I hope she is in high spirits. I am sorry that George Jackson and Jonathan Jackson were assassinated. I am very sad about your son you just lost. I am crying inside, very deeply. Although the loss of my comrades has made me very sad, I will continue to serve the people body and soul, because I believe that is the way George would want it. All Power to the People

Michelle
Samuel Napier Intercommunal Youth Institute

Open Letter to Mr. and Mrs. Jackson

Mother and Father of warriors, with these words we offer you, instead of sympathy or sorrow, our thanks. Because of you, two truly beautiful Black revolutionary warriors have stepped in the face of this racist Amerikkkan Empire. You should be proud in that you are fortunate to have brought into existence two real revolutionaries, who by their deeds and actions have done more to transform the consciousness and plight of our people than many thousands whose idle empty lives add nothing to our struggle.

We inside the walls of Folsom have also been in many of the other California concentration camps, and we can and always felt the traumatic vibrations which George set into motion, with his determination, will and undaunted spirit. There is not one day goes by when Comrade's (George) name is not uttered by some appreciative, newly-developed revolutionary, who was fortunate enough to cross his path and be energized by his magnetic personality and undying love for his people.

In the next few days the fascist enemies of the people will be trying their best to slander his name and run the memory of him through the dirt. Those of us who knew him will never be turned against so beautiful a comrade. We will always know and speak the truth; he was a staunch enemy to racism, exploitation and the many perverted attacks by sick-minded rabid dogs. We love him as the true warrior he was, no one can erase his being from our eyesight. True, the physical entity that was George Jackson is no longer with us, but the spirit of his existence will live forever.

We know, Father and Mother Jackson, that our pitifully few words fall far short in filling that vacuum created by George's murderers; you see we feel that vacuum also. You must be strong and take consolation in the reality that George lives in all of us and we all therefore are your sons. Take pride in the fact that you have a large strong revolutionary family of budding warriors---we will not let you down.

Comrade George...the battleground



is defined and that split between the enemy and ourselves has become a chasm. This cruel cut can never heal; the pain is too intense.

Where he once stood, a thousand more will rise to stand in his place, filled with a new burning desire to be free from the clutches of this brutal and vicious monster.

True warriors come few and sometimes far between. Comrade George was, as was Jonathan, a true warrior, honed to perfection; and he instinctively performed with the nature of a Panther backed against the wall...they'll think before they attack again.

The only sorrow comes in that we have waited again until another death to praise a hero, yet while he could hear it we turned deaf ears, blind eyes and cold empty hands to his warnings. We as a people have historically allowed our leaders to be swept away with only a nod of the head or forced tears in supplication. We become victims of murder...too timidly.

Folsom Cadre
Black Panther Party

THIS MESSAGE IS FROM THE SEVENTH OF AUGUST MOVEMENT. IT HAS NO NAMES ON IT, BECAUSE THEY ARE ALL STILL PRISONERS IN CALIFORNIA'S MAXIMUM SECURITY INSTITUTIONS. THEY ARE THE CELLMATES, THE COMRADES, THE STUDENTS AND FOLLOWERS OF GEORGE LESTER JACKSON. THE BROTHER WHO SENT THE MESSAGE KNEW COMRADE GEORGE FOR TEN YEARS, INSIDE THE PRISONS.

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MESSAGES FOR GEORGE FROM THE PEOPLE

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COMRADES, BROTHERS AND SISTERS:

There are many of us assembled here today who knew our Comrade,. George Lester Jackson, directly or indirectly. But only those who really knew him can begin to imagine the egregious loss that fascist Amerika has once again bestowed upon us.

Speaking for myself and countless others whom society terms "convicts", he was many things. First and above all, he was a man. Not in the abstract sense of a man, but in the concrete sense; George was a leader, not in the abstract sense but in the concrete; George was a love, not in the context that we understand it, but in the remote ways that we wish it would be; George was and always will be to us, the members of the 7th of August Movement, the epitome of manhood.

George gave us our manhood, showed us our creed through his everyday actions and teachings. For many years George was forced, out of historical necessity, to carry the load of those comrades much weaker than he. He was a man who could not stand to see wrong perpetrated by the unjust upon helpless and defenseless people. This is one of the reasons why he was singled out to be murdered by California's Department of Corrections.

In the year 1961, when racism in the California Penal Institutions was at its zenith, countless Blacks were dying at the hands of the neo-nazis. It was George who taught us how to defend ourselves. It was George who founded the so-called "Capone Gang", which later came to be called the 7th of August Movement, in honor of Jonathan Peter Jackson's siege of the Marin Civic Center.

George taught us that freedom came out of the barrel of a gun (but in our particular case, from the point of a knife) and since we were a minority, mostly uneducated, we had no politics, and very few of us could read or write. But George Jackson was a natural-born teacher. He taught us to read, he taught us to write, and our basic arithmetic; he taught us to form collectives within the prisons. George's mother, who was always at his side, used to send him money each and every month. There were many of us who had no families, consequently we had no funds. But through the collective it was possible for everyone to have something.

George taught us that we were Black, and that all that really meant was our culture was different from the European's, and that we came from Africa and were descendants of kings.

He taught us that if were to walk with our heads unlifted, in reality it would be one and the same as denying our heritage.



George explained that we were a minority. He taught us the mechanics of slavery, capitalism and imperialism on a level where we could all understand it. In this way it was possible for him to revolutionize the consciousness of countless blacks.

George taught that all people could live together. He constructed programs, starting in around 1966, which were composed of blacks, browns, and whites. He attempted to use the Marxist world outlook of historical and dialectical materialism to transcend racism. He pointed out to us the commonality of our circumstances and that the same pig that had a boot up a Black man's ass, just so happened to be the same identical fascist that had the same boot up this white guy's ass. This basic truism, along with hours and years of teaching, is the cause and the birth of the present prison movement.

George grew through the years. When we were cell-partners he would read as much as 16 hours a day. And he had a way with words and books, where he could take the most complex matters and break them down to the simplest form. George, unlike most university intellectuals, was outgoing and longed --sometimes demanded--to share a new-found truth. This is why he's a leader.

The prison authorities started to witness something new among the prisoners; the kind of men who, despite a seventh-grade point average on his achievement tests when he entered prison, could use words and etymologies in a context to defend himself in disciplinary hearings; the kind of man who would finally object to working in the cotton mills, furniture factories and shoe shops for the meager sum of 3¢ an hour. George taught us how to organize strikes. He set out the guidelines for lists of demands, explaining to the prisoners that we were part of the working class and consequently we were entitled to at least a minimum wage.

Naturally the idea of prisoners running around talking about minimum wages, striking and disrupting Pat Brown's and then Ronald Reagan's slave wage system, just could not be tolerated. And it was at this point that George Lester Jackson was singled out to be murdered.

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MESSAGES FOR GEORGE FROM THE PEOPLE

This is the creed of the 7th of August Movement:

Ulysses' Vow

If ever I should break my stride,
Or falter at my comrade's side,
This oath will kill me!
If ever my word should prove untrue,
Should I betray the many or you few,
This oath will kill me!
Should I be slow to make a stand,
Or show fear before the hangman,
This oath will kill me!
Should I misuse the people's trust,
Should I submit ever to greed or lust,
This oath will kill me!
Should I grow lax in discipline,
In times of strife, refuse my hand,
This oath will surely kill me!

When Fidel Castro, who was later to lead the Cuban people to freedom, was captured by the Batista forces and brought to trial, he uttered a statement that went down in history, known as "History will Absolve Me." In that speech to the fascist court, he spoke of the revolutionaries in the prisons; and we adopt his words as our own:

"We were never permitted to talk or remain in the same prisons; yet we were in full accord as to how to act. When men carry the same ideals in their hearts, nothing can keep them isolated, neither the walls of prisons nor the sod of cemeteries, for a single memory, a single spirit, a single idea, a single consciousness, a single dignity, will sustain them all."

From the 7th of August Movement who are continuing the struggle inside the Fascist Prisons of America!



MESSAGES OF LOVE AND SOLIDARITY WERE ALSO SENT BY REVOLUTIONARY BROTHES FROM:
SOLEDAD PRISON -- MAXIMUM SECURITY SECTION:

Madison Flowers Jr.
Edward Whiteside
Manuel Torrez, Jr.
Victorino Murillo
Henry Aldridge
Charles Johnson
Raymond C. Mosley
Lawrence Mosley
Raymond Marquez
Ricardo Romio Garcia
Leroy Wynne
Jerry W. Lund
Richard Clemence
Eric Victor Hilton

TEHACHAPI PRISON CAMP:

Bonewell
Kenneth Favre
Freddie Pendleton
Wendell Wade
Cowyge
Jessie Wright
Paul Morgan
Howard Custard

DEATH ROW, WASHINGTON STATE PENITENTIARY:

Arthur N. Aiken
Leodis Smith
David W. Riggins
Antonio N. Wheat

As for the facts, George Jackson entered prison at the age of 18 and only left it, dead, at the age of 29. He had been arrested for a theft of $70. A serious crime, if you a are young Black adolescent in my country. And, if you are white, still talking about my country, a mere childish prank. All white Americans, though they may deny it, know that no white American would have been given such a savage sentence.

So be it. He is dead. Neither his younger brother, Jonathan, now dead, nor Angela Davis, now imprisoned, has ever killed or assassinated anyone. The murders were committed by the American police. In short, these murders and attempted murders have all been carried out by the American state in order to serve American interests, which mainly involves its investments in the United States as well as in the rest of the world.

George remained in prison and finally met his death there-confronted with a murder charge which would not stand up under even the most superficial examination - because something in him refused to accept his condition of slavery. This made him a bad example for the other slaves, because the Americans still believe that they are running a plantation and that this plantation is now the world. That means, as someone else has already said so well, that in the eyes of Americans, all of us are Black today. And if you think that I am exaggerating, take a look at the results. I would gladly ask the top American party leaders to refute all I have just said, if I had the slightest respect for them and could believe them capable of a grain of honesty. George Jackson is the last victim of a system of exploitation, sometimes called "cheap manual labor", and universally know under the name of slavery. From this point on, every corpse will be put on the bill that this civilization can never hope to pay.

JAMES BALDWIN



August 31, 1971
Habana, Cuba

Black Panther Party
National Headquarters
1048 Peralta Street
Oakland, California

The assassination of Afro-American leader George Jackson by the racist San Quentin wardens at the instigation of the Nixon Administration arouses the unanimous indignation of the Asian, African and Latin American people and all World progressive forces.

This revolting crime is aimed at thwarting the increasing struggle developed in the United States by Black people and the popular masses, exploited by the Yankee imperialist oppressor. This again demonstrates the Yankee imperialist's aim to exterminate the Afro-American leaders, spokesmen and liberation hopes of the twenty-two million Blacks in the United States.

The Jackson assassination forms part of the plot U.S. racists contrived against Professor Angela Davis. We demand the severe punishment of Jackson's murderers. He has been victimized by the revival of United States fascist forces who were shamefully defeated by the Vietnamese people. The struggle of Black people, workers and students is strengthened with every new crime their Yankee imperialist oppressors perpetrate. Glory to George Jackson, immortal Afro-American fighter.

Executive Secretariat
OSPAAAL (Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America)

The Americans kill off the Blacks they can't understand or buy off. One must reconsider the sense in which a man "belongs" to a country in which, in the final anaylsis, he just happens to be born. George Jackson belongs to us. If he belonged to anybody's jurisdiction, it was the same jurisdiction to which the youth of all nations belong and the people of all nations crushed under foot by America. Reagan's police plotted to kill George Jackson and shot him down. Jackson was not afraid of the trial that the San Francisco judges were preparing for him. He did not want to escape. The American police handled this business like the OAS and the paratroopers in Algeria when they take the Arabs out "for a ride". On closer inspection, police methods are the same everywhere, to such an extent that one is tempted to ask whether there isn't a new International ....of police encircling the globe in a network of blue. . .

I returned to this idea: who were George Jackson's countrymen, if not those of us who read, loved and admired his book and the people, but entire peoples, whole countries of men - for whom he wrote, deep in the bowels of Soledad Prison.

The failure of the Vietnam war, the devaluation of the dollar, the worldwide requestioning of White America and of its morals - the ghettos can only snear at all that. From certain signs one realizes that America is afraid; it is the most afraid of the Blacks within its boundaries, whom it suspects are becoming increasingly intelligent. America had Malcolm X killed; it killed Martin Luther King. Last year prison correctional officer Mills shot, for sport, three Black prisoners in the recreation yard of Soledad Prison. The police killed eight Black students in Georgia. They put Bobby Seale in prison and gagged him during the Chicago trial; they condemned Huey P. Newton; Angela Davis is now in their clutches in the San Rafael jail. But the premeditated murder of George Jackson is a sign, and this time a visible sign, that America is afraid and that her power is inexorably waning. America is getting edgey. California doesn't even have time now to create for herself the suitable attractive image. The death of George Jackson means that the Blacks, Chicanos, radicals are making themselves heard more and more.

Jackson belonged to us, like the Black Panthers and the American revolutionaries.

One must do what he can to continue his actions and derive inspiration from his book. One can expect anything. As I write this, the director of San Quentin is repeating his version of the event: Jackson was armed (but how? and whose help did he have?); he tried to escape, but the warden does not say that Jackson had been in prison for 11 years for being involved in a $70 theft.

In these 11 years, Jackson learned to write and to think. The American police shot him down.

JEAN GENET

FIELD MARSHAL GEORGE JACKSON ANALYZES THE CORRECT METHOD IN COMBATING AMERICAN FASCISM

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

didn't oppose capitalism, they didn't oppose hierarchy when they should have opposed them, in the '30's and '40's. They didn't fight then.

You've heard of Ho Chi Minh's line, I think he wrote it while he was in prison, it goes something like this, in part: "When the prison gates blow open, the real dragon will fly out." You've heard that. Panther was a counter-terror. The first act of terror was committed against us. I understand, I've read all the arguments about violence being immature, and violence being non-scientific; but, of course, I disagree. There is a way of approaching violence, scientifically; and, of course, my position, wherein I accept the existence of a mature fascism in this country, means that in essence I understand that the only way one can, an organization or people can move against fascism is with counter-terror. Counter terror. Panther wasn't a terror. Panther was a counter terror. The first act of terror was created against us. I'd like to suggest that the violence perpetrated against us all - not just the Black community, but the poor, period, people, ordinary man in the street, the ordinary man in society - the violence perpetrated is through the institutions, through the fascist institutions, the corporative institutions that were intended to perpetuate their own existence. The violence that they force on us in the maintaining of these institutions, the maintenance of their power and the prestige of their power. There's one way to combat it - counter violence, counter-terror, when we can, where we can.

On top of all this, we have to consider a couple of very, very important points in allowing these men who mechanate at the center and above society to perpetrate their violence, which is much, much more damaging and much more severe than anything that we've ever done. And really, we've done nothing to deserve the violence; and considering that - we have to consider that also, right - let's consider that in taking steps, namely arms, whatever, to stop their violence. I sincerely believe, I stand on the principle, on the fact that in stopping them, and stopping them now, rather than stopping them over the next 50 to 75 years, will



save more lives, will save more destruction of minds and of property and of innocent people, human potential.

That's just what happened during World War II. Socialist consciousness was building to the point where it had to be distracted, so they offered foreign war, and it appealed to loyal instinct, patriotic instinct, to divert the people from their real interests. Because, of course, it's easy to understand that in protecting the state, we're protecting the right of the people who own and run the state to continue to own and run the state. It comes right down to protecting hierarchy. In the event of violent, people's war, we're building an infrastructure, the separating of the people's world from the government, from the enemy state. If the corporative powers, the fascist powers saw this thing happening, it's very possible that they would start a war with someone else, and try to appeal to our loyalty instincts. But that will no longer work. Socialist consciousness all around the world has grown now to the point whereas ideas like that are no longer, it's no longer possible to foist ideas like that on people. I believe, I sincerely believe that socialist consciousness around the world has - and in this country, when I say the world I'm including this country too, although they do separate themselves, that includes this country too - I believe the socialist consciousness has grown to the point where we won't go for it a second time. We can see that right now. I think we have something like 30,000 draft resisters right here in San Francisco. Correct? And there's nothing the government can do about it. Nothing whatsoever.

The power of the establishment, the power of the hierarchy depends upon us. They can't do the things that they're doing without some consent from us, some consent. That consent can be extracted with brutality; it can be extracted with propaganda, brands of agit-prop; it can be extracted through appealing to short-term interests, but I don't think it will work this time. We have powerful forces working on our side that won't let it happen again. But to get back to the question of fighting, of resisting, of finally saying no, and meaning it, and getting out in the street, if necessary, if necessary

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FIELD MARSHAL GEORGE JACKSON ANALYZES THE CORRECT METHOD IN COMBATING AMERICAN FASCISM

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getting out in the street and turning tanks inside out with our specialized weapons, ones that we can make right in our basements. I say right on. If we have to do that, we'll do it; we'll stop the streets; we'll bust the bridges; we can't uproot all the pigs, we don't want to - we might want to use them later, after the revolution. We will break down the viaducts and bridges. And, we can stop transportation; we can stop everything, every utility that every city in this country depends upon to maintain order. And as we're doing that, we can rebuild the people's world. We can, we will. Che had ideas about the new world, so did Lumumba, so did Jonathan. Huey's got ideas about the new world. But the pressing problem right now, I believe, is dealing with this one right here. But, in general, what we want, I think, is a world where there won't be any war.

Well, one other thing. My reading of the revolutionary literature of Che, Giap, Huey, Angela - I like to mention them - and Jonathan - they envision a world where it adds up. Our principal concern, their principal concern, our really principal concern right now is with the living and the present. But we do have ideas of the way things should be; and principal among those ideas is that terrorism from any quarter should be acknowledged; and that as long as we have to have administrators, those administrators should be chosen from the people, should have distinguished themselves in some way for the people. They're not administering people; they're not administering our lives, really; actually what they're doing is, as far as I'm concerned, they should be administering things - they can see the big picture, as an individual, and make the ideal feasible, so it will hang together. I would say that each one of the positions should be dependant upon meritorious conduct of duty, and they'd have to be replacable.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

CUT HERE



PETITION

FOR CROSS SECTION OF COMMUNITY ON JURIES AND FOR PROBATION OR APPEAL BAIL BOND FOR BROTHER DAVID HILLIARD:

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED COMMUNITY PEOPLE, DO HEREBY PETITION THAT BROTHER DAVID HILLIARD, CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, PRESENTLY HELD BY ALAMEDA COUNTY AS A POLITICAL PRISONER, BE GRANTED HIS CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT OF AN APPEAL BAILBOND OR PROBATION, PENDING APPEAL OF HIS CASE TO A HIGHER COURT.

THE U.S. CONSTITUTION STATES THAT JURIES SHALL REFLECT A CROSS-SECTION OF A COMMUNITY, OR A PEER GROUP. THERE WERE NO BLACK PEOPLE ON THE JURY IN THE CASE OF BROTHER DAVID HILLIARD, ALTHOUGH 38% OF THE OAKLAND COMMUNITY IS BLACK. FIVE BLACK PEOPLE SAT ON THE JURY IN THE RECENTLY DISMISSED CASE OF BOBBY SEALE AND ERICKA HUGGINS, EVEN THOUGH ONLY 9% OF THE NEW HAVEN COMMUNITY IS BLACK. THEREFORE, THE CASE OF DAVID HILLIARD, PARTICULARLY, CLEARLY POINTS OUT THE NEED TO HAVE PROPER REPRESENTATION ON JURIES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

IN THE LIGHT OF THESE FACTS, WE THEREFORE PETITION THAT DAVID HILLIARD BE GRANTED HIS CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT OF AN APPEAL BAILBOND OR PROBATION, PENDING APPEAL OF HIS CASE TO A HIGHER COURT, AND THAT THE RE-TRIAL JURY REPRESENT A TRUE CROSS-SECTION OF THE COMMUNITY.

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RETURN ALL PETITIONS TO BLACK PANTHER PARTY CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
1048 PERALTA STREET OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94706


GEORGE JACKSON LIVES!